20 February 1970



MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

SUBJECT: VAN HET REVE, Karel - #839052

REFS: Attached Clippings from the NEW YORK TIMES dtd 11 Jan 1970 and NEWSWEEK dtd 12 Jan 1970

1. References reported that Subject, founder of the Alexander Herzen Foundation in Amsterdam, is publishing the writings of Soviet dissenters; notably Andrei AMALRIK, Andrei SAKHAROV, Pavel LITVINOV and Anatoly T. MARCHENKO.

2. [Subject was granted a POA in June 1969 for use as an informant by SB/PO/M, W. Europe, under Project AEEGGHEAD]. 24

Sarah K. Hall
SRS/OS

Atts. Refs.

1/BR

NEW YORK TIMES
11 January 1970

# New Dutch Group Is Publishing Writings of Soviet Dissenters

By HENRY RAYMONT

A group of West European scholars have set up a nonprofit organization, the Alexander Herzen Foundation in Amsterdam, to disseminate works by dissident Soviet writers.

The purpose is to protect the author's name against piracy, political exploitation, careless translations and other complications that have often marked the publication in the West of manuscripts smuggled out of the Soviet Union.

With the increasing interest in Soviet dissent, scores of Western publishers in recent months have turned to the foundation for book rights to such works as Andrei Amalrik's "Will the U.S.S.R. Survive Until 1984?", Anatoly T. Marchenko's "My Testimony," and essays by Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Minister under Stalin.

Though the translations received wide notice in the Western press, little was known about the foundation until one of its representatives came here last week to explain its role to United States publishers.

"We received our inspiration from the enlightened efforts of Alexander Herzen to defy totalitarian methods against Russian authors by publishing them in the West and sending their books back through a literary underground," the representative, who asked not to be identified, said in an interview.

### Herzen Had a Journal

Herzen, an aristocratic litterateur and father of Russian socialism, in 1857 started a periodical, Kolokol (The Bell), in London to publicize his ideas and those of other dissidents banned by Tsarist autocracy. The journal established a long tradition of Russian publishing in exile that over the years has included such authors as Lenin, Gorky, Trotsky and Pasternak.

"The new generation of Soviet writers has none of the obsessive fear that characterized the Stalin era," the representative said. "They contend that there is nothing in Soviet law to prevent them from publishing abroad and they insist on exercising their rights."

What differentiates the Herzen Foundation from some of the émigré presses that publish manuscripts smuggled out of the Soviet Union, he maintained, is that it has the approval of the authors to act as their agent abroad.

### Established in 1968

The foundation was established in 1968 by Dr. Karel van het Reve became friendly with literature at the University of Leyden, with support from a group of Dutch businessmen.

While he was Moscow correspondent for a Dutch newspaper in 1967 and 1968, Dr. van het Reve became friendly with several writers who asked to be helped in getting their books published in the West.

After he returned to Amsterdam in 1968, Dr. van het Reve was joined by Dr. Jan Besemer, another Russian literature professor, who was also a newspaper correspondent in Moscow, and Peter Reddaway, a lecturer at the London School of Economics. One of the institute's principal advisers is Max Hayward, a translator of Russian literature.

The foundation's procedure is to publish a manuscript in its original Russian text, thereby insuring copyright, before offering it to publishers in Western Europe and the United States.

Since it placed its first book in the West, Mr. Litvinov's "Dear Comrade" (published here by Pitman), the organization has supervised translations and collected royalties for the authors. It is now preparing several test cases to determine whether the authors can be paid through official accounts in the Soviet State Bank.

NEWSWEEK
12 January 1970

# Underground Press

By normal city-desk standards, Karel van het Reve wasn't much of a newshound in his days as Moscow correspondent for the Dutch daily Het Parool. "I kept forgetting to ask names and ages," he recalls. But then, van het Reve was really a scholar of Russian literature who had only signed on with the newspaper as a way of spending a year or so in the Soviet Union. And now, back at his lectern at Leyden University, the mild-mannered, [illegible]-year-old ex-reporter is scooping the world by breaking the story of the vocal liberal opposition movement in Russia. Through a foundation named after Aleksandr Herzen, the nineteenth-century Russian writer who printed banned Russian manuscripts abroad, van het Reve has begun releasing a flood of underground political documents and memoirs for publication in the West.

Acting only as agent and translator, van het Reve made headlines with the bitter, apocalyptic pamphlet "Will the U.S.S.R. Survive Until 1984?" by youthful historian Andrei Amalrik, which appeared in the fall issue of the British quarterly Survey. And last week, van het Reve gave Newsweek's Robert J. Korengold an exclusive look at his latest triumph over Soviet censorship: a 400-page dossier on the closed-door trial of four Russian dissidents—Yuri Galanskov, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Aleksei Dobrovolsky and Vera Lashkova—that took place in Moscow's grim Kolomchovka Street courthouse in early 1968.

Van het Reve, as it happens, "covered" that trial himself, shivering with the rest of Moscow's foreign press corps in subzero cold on the street outside the court. The charges were, in essence, complicity in the production of a "white book" of allegedly anti-Soviet documents concerning the 1966 trial of writers Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky plus alleged collusion with NTS, a counter-revolutionary Russian émigré group in Frankfurt, Germany. Friends of the accused smuggled out thumbnail accounts of each day's proceedings, and when the trial ended, van het Reve, through his friendship with one of the self-appointed court recorders, came into possession of the 120 different manuscripts which make up the book that Longmans Green will publish in Britain later this year.

**Time:** Though much of the material is technical, courageous voices like that of Ginzburg bring the combative atmosphere of the trial to life. "I thought and I continue to think now," he declared to the judge, "that if I don't agree with something I should express my disagreement openly . . . I know that you will convict me because not one person charged under Article 70 [anti-Soviet activity] has ever been acquitted. I will go off to the camp calmly to serve my time."

Van het Reve naturally isn't eager to reveal how he smuggled out this mass of documentation. "Let's just say I managed," he smiles. Probably through the time-honored methods of the plain brown envelope and the luggage of departing foreigners, he and the Herzen Foundation, which ironically occupies the former headquarters of the Dutch Communist Party in Amsterdam, have "managed" to receive not only the Amalrik pamphlet and the Ginzburg trial records, but a steady flow of other anti-regime works including a sharp attack on Soviet politics by Andrei Sakharov, the noted nuclear physicist, and a factual account of life in the U.S.S.R.'s labor camps by Anatoly Marchenko, who is still serving time for "agitation."

A lapsed Stalinist turned democrat, van het Reve insists that the Herzen Foundation is apolitical. "Our only aim is to give these people a chance to publish and that's all," he says. And if he can keep his foundation clear of damaging outside support and free of any profit



motive, as it now [illegible], then he will have gone [illegible] the credibility gap that has previously beclouded the reception of Russian social critics abroad.